EXCLUSIVE: CARL BRADEN TELLS HIS STORY FROM A KENTUCKY JAIL ... See p. 4

The mass-murder business is looking up

"It's killing to be back," laughs former Luftwaffe Gen. Adolph Galland as he lands in Frankfurt, W. Germany, with odds-on chances of becoming head of the new German air force. When the West decided to rearm Germany, the 43-year-old general got the nod in far-away Argentina where he has been chief air adviser to Peron. Shooting down 104 allied planes in the Battle of Britain and other World War II forays, Galland became Hitler's favorite aerial assassin and got from the Fuehrer a Knight's Cross with laurels, swords and diamonds. As a result of "representations" from Galland and ex-Nazi colleagues, the planned new W. German jet fighter force has already been upped from 310 to 600 planes.

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WASHINGTON'S "HOUSE DICK" ATTACKS

Invasion of Costa Rica: Another liberal republic in danger of overthrow

By Kumar Goshal

A SECOND liberal-tending Central American government in the space of a few months stood in danger of violent overthrow last week, as aggression started against Costa Rica from its neighbor Nicaragua.

On Jan. 9 Costa Rican President Jose Figueres charged that "several hundred mercenary troops are poised in Nicaragua for land, sea and air invasion of Costa Rica," canceled all airplane flights in the country and rushed reinforcements to the border. On Jan. 10 in Washington the Organization of American States (OAS) deemed action "premature" on Costa Rican Ambassador Facio's appeal for aid "to defend continental peace and security." Within 24 hours fighting broke out on the Costa Rica-Nicaragua border; on Jan. 12 planes attacked ten Costa Rican towns including the capital, San Jose, flying low and strafing streets with machine-gun fire.

ANOTHER RED PLOT: There were attempts to dismiss it as an "internal revolt"; from Mexico City, Roman Catholic Msgr. Alfredo Hidalgo said that after six months' planning the Costa Rican people were "rising against the government because . . . of oppression and high taxes" (**UP**, 1/16). Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza called it a "Communist plot," added comic relief by challenging Figueres to a duel. Figueres said he was "crazy."

The OAS finally sent to San Jose a five-nation (U. S., Mexico, Brazil, Ecuador, Paraguay) commission; on Jan. 14 it reported that attacking planes had come from "foreign soil" and "a substantial part of the war material" had been introduced from Nicaragua.

At GUARDIAN press time fighting continued along Costa Rica's northern border. Washington, after ignoring for several days Figueres' plea for planes and arms, sold to Costa Rica four F-51 Mustang fighters but no arms.

DULLES' HOUSE DICK: Washington was well aware that the conflict had been long brewing. Last April Costa Rica accused Nicaragua of moving troops to its border. On Nov. 27 Figueres said a plot to invade Costa Rica simultaneously with an internal revolt had failed. A few weeks later Nicaragua announced purchase of 25 U. S. surplus Mustang fighters from Sweden, making it Central America's strongest air power. (**N. Y. Times**, 1/17, reported the German freighter Eleana passing

(Continued on Page 7)

LABOR

Guaranteed annual wage demand may spark big battle in auto

By Lawrence Emery

THERE MAY BE big trouble in the auto industry this year. The CIO United Auto Workers (1,350,000 members) is planning to build up a $25,000,000 strike fund by raising dues $5 a month, while the **Wall St. Journal** reports that the industry is stocking up now on new cars in expectation of a strike in the spring.

Big issue will be UAW's demand for a guaranteed annual wage. UAW president Walter Reuther last September was quite emphatic:

"We're going to get the guaranteed annual wage. There's no question about it."

More recently he put the question on a high level of morality and virtue:

"If there is going to be a strike, and I pray there will not be, the strike will undoubtedly take place against the company which has shown the least moral responsibility. We are going to put a penalty on the absence of those virtues."

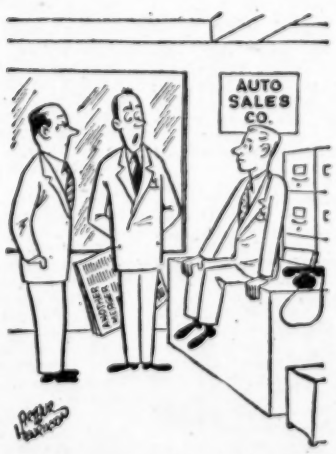
WHEN THEY EXPIRE: He did not hint which company is likely to turn out to be the most immoral, but the union's five-year contracts with the Big Three expire in this order: General Motors on May 29; Ford on June 1; Chrysler on Aug. 31. All three are engaged in the roughest competitive drive in the history of the industry.

Industry spokesmen have been careful not to reveal industry attitudes toward the guaranteed annual wage, but there are conflicting views about it. Cyrus Ching, former head of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Dept., has called it a "preposterous proposal," but Harvard's Prof. Seymour E. Harris told a panel meeting of U. S. economists held in Detroit recently by the Industrial Relations Research Assn. that fears of the effects of the guaranteed annual wage have been "exaggerated."

WHAT IT MEANS: Briefly, the GAW means that every auto worker with two years or more seniority would be guaranteed by his employer a full 52 weeks' wages a year. During periods of layoff or unemployment the company would make up the difference between the state unemployment compensation benefit and the full wage. The industry would carry the entire cost of the plan.

To Reuther the GAW would do many things; he told the recent CIO convention:

"Guaranteed annual wage plans can give wage and salary earners an opportunity to plan ahead and to improve their living conditions on a continuing basis throughout the year. The spread of such agreements could provide business with a much-needed incentive to become concerned with maintaining full employment. And it could induce business to plan its expansion programs on a long-run basis. . . . It has become increasingly recognized that guaranteed annual wages will make a contribution to economic stability through giving employers an incentive to regularize production and through maintaining wage-earners' incomes and national purchasing power."



Wall Street Journal

"Careful what you say about our competitors—we might be their partners next week!"

THE 30-HOUR WEEK: Other arguments for the GAW include these:

"Costs arising under the plan are essentially penalties for failing to provide steady work."

"It is steady work we want, and not pay for idleness."

Not all auto workers are agreed that the GAW is all that Reuther has made it out to be. When it was first proposed, powerful sections of the union countered it with a demand for a 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay. At the March, 1953, UAW convention, Reuther denounced this as a move "engineered and directed by the Communists," but it is now generally agreed in the union that at the next round of bargaining following this year's the 30-hour week will be the major issue.

Other CIO unions, notably steel and the electrical workers, now list the GAW as their top demand, but they have deferred to the Auto Union in leading the first fight for it.

5-YEAR CONTRACTS OUT: Other UAW demands will be for at least a 5.3c-an-hour wage increase plus a variety of so-called "fringe" benefits. There will be no more five-year contracts; those that include an escalator clause tieing wages to the cost-of-living index will run not more than two years; those without such a clause will be signed for only one year.

Next UAW convention will begin on March 27—just before the GM contract expires—in Cleveland's Civic Auditorium. It could kick off the biggest labor battle in recent times.

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THE MAIL BAG

I say, what?

OAKDALE, IOWA

I wonder! If China and Russia are as evil, monstrous and poisonous as portrayed in our country 10 000 times daily, and we liquidate them as they so well deserve; who then will our rulers select to serve as scapegoat? Perhaps next on the agenda will be jolly old England, what what?

Meantime we should all boycott that mean old China tea, as my paper tells me the Girl Scouts have done, and turn exclusively to coffee from our "free world" neighbors, even should they boom the prices again. Robert Bailey

Peoria comes up for air

PEORIA, ILL.

We do appreciate learning the truth on the many issues you discuss—so more power to you.

Here in Dirksen territory people are beginning to read the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, passing up the Chicago Tribune—a wonderful sign in this reactionary city.

Margaret Patterson

Joe, sign a subpena!

ELMONT, L. I., N. Y.

A paper like the GUARDIAN should tell its readers about the only real security risk—nature. What nature tells one group of men she will sooner or later tell another. The truth is that both God and nature are subversive—and there is nothing we can do about it. Ruth Friedman

Pension mathematics

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

I am deeply grieved to send only $1 and to say I shall not be able to send any at all after this month, due to my rent being raised $10. This is the second $10 raise since rent ceilings were lifted, and my income being only the state pension of $80, it is impossible to spare any for the cause of peace.

My interest will never be less, and if there is ever a dollar left over I shall send it to my precious GUARDIAN. My heart is weeping for "the people" in this bewildered world, and I have been so happy to help just a little. I shall save penny by penny to renew my sub when due. Name withheld

How crazy can you get dept.

The Communist loves nothing better than to be arrested. . . . But he is not like the martyr for the faith. St. Joan of Arc did not like being tied to a stake; a Communist does. . . . When the Communist is put into an uncomfortable position, he concludes he must necessarily be uncommonly popular.

—Bishop Fulton J. Sheen in Buffalo Courier-Express, Jan. 1.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: F. Richardson, East Aurora, N. Y.

Loyal reindeer

FAROWAN, UTAH

On the night of Dec. 23, the news commentator over KFI Los Angeles reported that Norway had sent a sharp note to Moscow demanding immediate release of several head of reindeer which had crossed the Norwegian border into Russia, but that the reindeer had of their own accord returned, unharmed. Olive Carrell

What's good for Mellon . . .

PITTSBURGH, PA.

In your Jan. 3 issue you note that the government has sold a number of synthetic rubber plants to large oil and chemical firms at one-quarter of their original cost or less. Thus, Goodrich-Gulf Chemicals, Inc., and a Texas Oil-U.S. Rubber combine got three plants originally costing $100 million at $29 million or less.

With regard to Gulf Oil, one of the participants in the above deal, this firm recently built an enormous 32,000-ton tankship in Germany, which has been registered in Liberia so it may employ foreign seamen at reduced wages. Also, Liberian registry may be useful in cutting income taxes.

U.S. steel production has been well below capacity in the past year; U.S. merchant ship construction is so near vanishing point that shipyards have been forced to lay off key designers and shipfitters. Offshore maritime employment has been tight for a quite a while. At the same time, Gulf's major marketing area where it makes most of its money is the U.S. Under these conditions, is it "subversive" to question Gulf's policy in building and operating its huge new ship under foreign flags?

Gulf is a Mellon family interest; the Mellon Bank is another and very likely does business with Pittsburgh steel firms now contending with sub-capacity operations. One wonders what Pittsburgh steel management or labor would think of doing business with one Mellon interest while another Mellon interest lets out to Germany a big contract badly needed here. Finally, when we remember that German steel has recovered largely through U.S. loans and subsidies, and Gulf Oil enjoys lucrative monopoly contracts on sections of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, "Alice in Wonderlands" appears the apex of sanity.

Name withheld

Who done it?

HOUSTON, TEX.

It is my understanding that Mr. Belfrage is accused of being a Communist in 1937-38. If he was a dangerous alien at that time, why did the Justice Dept. wait so long before taking any action? Seventeen years is a long time to let any dangerous spy or saboteur be free.

If anyone is guilty, the guilt should be placed on the Justice Dept. officials for being derelict in their duty to uphold and defend the laws of this country. You and your attorneys should file cross action and prosecute those officials who have been so neglectful for so many years. Chas. Ginsburg

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"You mark my words, Fetlock, in the war AFTER next they'll be glad of cavalry!"

F & V in Boston

MELROSE, MASS.

There was a gruesome picture in the Boston Globe recently of a man dripping blood and under arrest for assault and battery on police officers. Evidently he had been trying to break up a union meeting. Who should the wild man be but one of the pet and pampered witnesses of the state witch-hunting commission during its recent investigation of the Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union, a defected and suspended union member.

During its entire career the infamous commission has not turned up a breath of evidence of force and violence by any of its harassed witnesses, but here is photographic evidence of force and violence on the other side. Being very fond of collecting factual evidence, I made haste to write to Chairman Bowker of the infamous Massachusetts Commission to Investigate Communism. Frank Collier

A disgusted farmer

PALMYRA, ILL.

Thanks for keeping my paper coming while I'm in arrears on my sub. This has been a tough year here as we lost 90% of our crops through drought. However, I'm working in the timber now and should soon have cash coming in.

Mike Gold (Jan. 3 issue), like good wine, is improving with age. Your article on contaminated food was very good; not one of my farm papers carried that story. I'm so disgusted with the general run of farm papers that I'm letting my subs expire on all of them.

Our Farm Bureau too has become just a stock-selling enterprise and seems to be operated chiefly for the "silk stocking" type of farmer. So if you can recommend a good farm paper or farm organization I'll appreciate your help. Theodor W. Noll

Try Facts for Farmers, 39 Cortlandt St., N. Y. C. 7, $1 a year. Ed.

Vets seeking answers

LYONS, NEB.

Truman's "Police Action" vets are calling, asking for favors. Recently three of them called at my door. One vet complained because he couldn't find a farm to rent. No. 2 vet tried to sell some propaganda magazines. No. 3 vet asked permission to set out a trapline in the creek that runs through our rented farm.

These vets set me to thinking. All of them were asking for a "property in common" idea. Now, let's see, just what was it they were "policing" against?

Sure, I pity these vets, but I assured them that I did not send them out to "police" the world, neither did I vote for the man who did. I suggest that they call on those who did.

They are not my victims. Not guilty. Mrs. Harvey Sydow

If this be freedom . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

My heartiest congratulations to you and especially to Cedric Belfrage in his fight for truth and the right to tell it. It is very dangerous to be honest and intelligent and to speak the truth in this "free world." If this is what our government bigwigs call freedom, then no honest or intelligent person wants it at any time anywhere. Winton Alden Smith

Let Congress know

"War over Formosa is, at some point, a distinct possibility," warns Wall St. Journal columnist Joseph E. Evans. Walter Lippmann reported (1/18): "Washington is worried that Chiang will deliberately entangle the U.S. against its will in a war with Red China." The Democratic Natl. Committee has pointed out to Foreign Relations Committee members that there are no assurances against this in the "mutual defense" treaty with Chiang's Formosa which the Senate will be asked to ratify in the next few weeks.

The DNC suggests the treaty might "embarrass" the U.S. The natl. board of Americans for Democratic Action calls the treaty a "booby trap."

Ninety-nine percent of Americans don't want a war with China. The best way to help head it off now is to write editors, Senators and others of influence, urging them to speak out against the treaty with the desperate desperado Chiang.

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REPORT TO READERS

New year post morten

HOW DID SANTA CLAUS TREAT US? Well, thanks for asking! He did all right by us, we guess, all things considered. Things are probably rough all over, so we can't kick. There were some things we wanted that didn't come through, but the mails were slow and crowded, you know, and people do get pretty exclusively involved in family affairs at holiday time. We can't tell yet, maybe the late returns will change the picture.

Anyway—what we really want to start the new year with is a big, rousing, all-hands-around rush of renewals; plus a generous sprinkling of new "Buck of the Month" pledges; and a wider recognition than we've noted so far that we have a costly major fight on our hands in the Belfrage Case.

WE GOT A FAIR SHARE OF RENEWALS, but by no means all that are due. **You can tell if yours is overdue by your address-plate on page 1 or on your wrapper. If it's printed in red ink, you're overdue and we'd like to hear from you without having to send another renewal letter. Can you take care of that this week?**

Our 1954 pledge band came through handsomely all year and most of them are continuing for '55; but the new pledges hardly amounted to an avalanche—about 300, or just about enough to make up for those of you who felt you couldn't continue your 1954 pledges.

The pledge system works this way: your sub is automatically renewed and you get a reminder note each month, with a postage-paid envelope for your reply. We suggest, hopefully, that each pledge dollar throughout the year be accompanied by the name of a friend whom you want to introduce to the GUARDIAN, via a $1 six-month introductory sub. Thus your pledge dollars can do double duty, the year round.

THE BELFRAGE SCRAP enters a new round this coming month, when we argue our appeal from the preliminary ruling of the Immigration Dept. ordering our editor deported to England. As you know, this is one of the dirtier deals of the late, unlamented McCarthy era; McCarthy ordered deportation proceedings against Belfrage for refusing to discuss personal and professional matters at McCarthy's command.

The fight for our editor's right to citizenship is not only a freedom of the press fight, but also is a pivotal case in the fight on the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act. By helping us with this fight, you can get in at least two whacks at once—against McCarthyism and McCarranism—and in the bargain do your bit toward insuring the GUARDIAN's continuing role in these and other vital issues of our time.

—THE EDITORS

P.S. If your address-plate is not appearing in red ink, this does not mean that you may not owe a renewal anyway. Any address plate with the figure "54" on it is in arrears; and those saying Jan. or Feb. '55 are just now coming due for renewals. Take a GOOD look!

Readers' forum on call for independent political action

On Jan. 10 NATIONAL GUARDIAN printed an editorial signed by John T. McManus, American Labor Party candidate for governor of New York in 1950 and 1954, calling for "a national independent political party on the ballot in the 1956 presidential elections." The editorial proposed that "preparations start now for an open caucus of all people and groups so minded, to be held no later than Labor Day week of 1955, at some place central in the country for the greatest convenience of all, with a view to starting the fight for independent ballot status in every state in the Union." The editorial continued:

"It must be a party of peace, jobs and rights. It must be anti-imperialist, understanding of and friendly to world socialism and itself prepared to consider socialist solutions for our own country's welfare. . . ."

The reader response excerpted herewith is all we have space for in this issue. However at press time no letters of opposition had been received other than those reprinted in this issue.

Further comments and developments will be reported in future issues of the GUARDIAN.

Suicidal

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your Call for the formation of a new political party preaching socialism at this dangerously reactionary stage of American history is ill-conceived and suicidal. The formation of such a political party, now will hopelessly isolate and decimate the Left. And with no effective oppcsition from the American people prompted by the Left, fascism and war will be thrust upon us sooner than we dare imagine. Today, the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party are in the forefront of the fight against McCarthyism and reaction. A constructive program calling for Peace, Civil Rights and attention to the immediate bread and butter needs of the people are the issues which confront America. The staggering blows dealt the McCarthyites throughout the nation in the last election clearly show us the way in the immediate future. Let us continue that job—UNITED! B. S.

No more "followership"

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Good going!

Your statement hits home; and it is timely to the point of being overdue. No more Wallace-like illusions of repair and make-over. No more prayers at the false altar of expediency or of "following the masses." The job is to lead; and for this, leadership, not followership, is wanted.

We need a Progressive Party (under any name) which will sell progress, socialism and a more wholesome America, devoted to

peace, to plenty. A hard-hitting, hard-working party will attract the trade union elements that are conscious, dragging their leaders with them. And Jane and John Doe, too, will find it to their need and liking.

Let's get together early in '55 and plan a real practical program—something everyone can understand, that reads as if it was written to be read and argued out.

M. H. Baker

The "lesser evil"

DETROIT, MICH.

It has been with profound regret that I have observed liberals arguing and voting for the "lesser evil" over so many years. . . . I hope your efforts will bear fruit and that the "lesser evil" doctrine will be relegated to the more unfortunate portion of our past history. (Dr.) Harry Langman

"Socialist solutions" confusing

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Thank you for beginning the New Year with a clear and long overdue call to independent political action. The general disgust of the electorate at the choice—or lack of choice—offered them this past November recalls Byron's analysis of an era when a similarly bi-partisan reaction characterized the policy of the Whigs and Tories in England. He commented:

"'Tis said Indifference marks the present time,
Then hear the reason—though 'tis told in rhyme;
A King who can't, a Prince of Wales who don't,
Patriots who shan't, and Ministers who won't,
What matters who are in or out of place,
The Mad, the Bad, the Useless, or the Base?"

However I must register one major criticism of the specific statement Mr. McManus presents. I do not think it is at all a foregone conclusion that an independent "party of peace, jobs and rights" must necessarily be "itself prepared to consider socialist solutions for our own country's welfare." Naturally I do not question anyone's right to propose this as part of such a party's platform, and to argue for it at, or even prior to, such a conference as the article urges. But it seems to me that to include so specific and controversial a plank in this first general call can only confuse the issue and seriously narrow its appeal.

Mr. McManus indicates by his later discussion and his lengthy quotations from two widely differing letters that he himself does not mean to insist on the necessity of a third party's being in any sense a socialist party, but the emphasis he gives this possibility in the early part of his statement does not. I feel, make for clarity or maximum effectiveness. Despite such important specific differences, however, I should like to thank you most warmly for this urgently needed public statement of opinion, believing that, as Milton says, "Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making."

Annette T. Rubinstein

Some big names

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

Your call for independent political action has given me new hope. Let's get some big names on the ticket like Dr. Einstein, Dr. Urey, Dr. Condon, et al. David Nibur

Do as Debs did

BAYPORT, N. Y.

We will not find our inspiration in the two old parties of capitalism and war, nor will we find it in the counsel of despair. We will find it only in the road of independent socialist political action, as did that greatest of all Americans—Eugene Victor Debs.

George B. Stryker

Just not possible

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your call for reviving of the PP in all states, and now, is simply not possible. To introduce a more radical program—socialism—would only keep more people from coming to us. Let's build the PP where possible, get Sobell free, pressure against war and fascism, but not put all our eggs in one sure-to-fail basket. Charter Reader

"Entrenched labor"

RED BANK, N. J.

The arguments and conclusions are indisputably sound; Mr. McManus has stated facts, unpleasant though they be, that urgently needed to be stated.

I loved his mention of "entrenched labor" and his clear recognition of the backwardness of organized labor, and the reactionary character of AFL and CIO leadership. Personally, I am sick to death of hearing about "labor-backed candidates" who have to be continually apologized for by the misguided progressives who support them.

Two minor comments:

1. I do not think we should advocate socialism; I think many voters who would support the type of capitalism that Wallace advocated in 1948 would not go with us on socialism. Also, we might run afoul of legal repression.

2. Mr. McManus did not mention a name for h's party. Since so much "blood, sweat and tears" has gone into the Progressive Party, I think by all means we should retain the present Progressive Party and build on it. Otherwise, we are simply throwing something away for nothing.

Besse Strasburger

The Sacramento Bee

WINDOW SHOPPING

Things will start . . .

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

. . . A powerful and convincing piece. . . . It will start things—new groupings of people's grass-roots leaders who are not too tired to fight and who want to build a new force in American politics. I think you did an excellent job in pointing out the numerous futilities of retreat and absorption in old-party slime. The people will recognize the truth of this more easily than the leaders. We'll be at that convention. . . .

Reuben W. Borough

Too far to the left?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Our group had a discussion recently on your splendid article. Everybody agrees there is a need for a third party and we are glad you brought it to the attention of the people with a loud, clear call. But there was disagreement regarding some of the points you raised. It was felt that the program as outlined is too far to the left for the present political climate in our country. In order to attract great numbers of people the program would have to be moderate—one of peaceful co-existence and the extension of democracy at home. The progressive movement is at present stigmatized and no third party organized by progressives would have a large following. The third party must be started and organized by vocal, liberal elements and sparked by progressives.

Crown Heights Civic Group

"Short-term expediency"

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I'm for your independent political party all the way, and ask nothing more than to be permitted to work for its realization. I believe it is largely because we have strayed off the main highway into the treacherous swamp of lesser-evilism that so much of the potential progressive following has forsaken us. So let's have done once and for all with "short-term expediency" and get back on the solid principled path that can give every American voter in 1956 and thereafter a real alternative to the war and depression policies of both the major parties. Ellwood Griest

Long overdue

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I was afraid it was never going to be said! Not only do we need an independent political party, but it is long overdue. I think it's our responsibility to fight any one who tries to stop its growth and not allow ourselves to become confused by the outer garment of opportunism. Ruth Malone

The brink of harm

BRONX, N. Y.

It took the GUARDIAN a long time to assert itself this boldly. . . . I have often said that the GUARDIAN has done the most for the building of a real third party. Now I feel that it is on the brink of doing it the greatest harm.

Let it not forget that the Progressive Party is a correct third party, albeit crippled; but down among the crippled bones lies a perfectly good but unused independent program. Sometimes a crutch helps a man stand but prevents him from moving. Remove the crutch of tailing the Democrats from the PP and it is no longer crippled; it starts to move.

Earl Price

Only pretty talk?

ST. LOUIS, MO.

We demand you keep us posted on further plans. . . . We question whether you are sincere or just putting out some pretty talk. Let us hear from you. We recommend Chicago for a convention. Our party is ready and anxious to cooperate fully with any outfit that means business.

Edwin L. Richardson, chairman, People's Peace Party of Missouri

If we do not . . .

DETROIT, MICH.

By all means get behind and push the organization of a workers' party with the needs of farmers and all subject classes' interests established. If we do not, we act as betrayers whether we are conscious of it or not and should not deserve to speak in terms of leadership. Samuel J. Garrett

Not without labor

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

Without the labor unions, there will never be a real labor party with representatives in Congress. It needs some good leaders to interest the union memberships in creating a real labor party and in voting only for labor's representatives. Our country is wonderful; it could be the best on earth if we had a government elected by and for the people. A. Dorublatt

Our one recourse

RICHMOND, CALIF.

I wish to dissent vigorously from statements that the Progressive Party is not destined to be the third party. Our 1948 platform, the foundation of today's progressive movement, is a great state paper. Intelligent people must support its proposals. Our party has had the misfortune of having to face carefully fostered fanaticism. The money power has fought it bitterly. We are facing national deterioration intellectually and morally. We are back again to the

point where a man must vote with his boss or lose his job.

Our one recourse is determined, ceaseless advocacy of genuine Americanism through press, telephone, social life, door to door, hand bills, posted arguments, platform, etc. We pay taxes to a corrupt government, let us pay more for America's future. Yours for the Restoration of the Republic.

J. N. McCullough

A people's party

PRENCHTOWN, N. J.

The days are gone when the Republican and the Democratic Parties represented and pursued the political interests of different social strata in America. While in comparatively unimportant matters different groups and classes may and do still find spokesmen for their particular interests in one or the other of the parties, or in individual politicians in either of them, there is no perceptible difference between the stand both take on basic questions.

The concentration of economic power in the hands of a small financial oligarchy has automatically also concentrated in these hands the power to dictate the basic political policies of the government. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party rules when in power. Either party is only the instrument of the real rulers. And these rulers do not change with elections. The elections do not decide who will rule but merely what machine the rulers will use.

In any conflict between the people and either of the two parties the unorganized masses of the people are bound to lose out against the well-organized and financially well-oiled cliques within. Any proposal to use one of the two parties as the point of Archimedes to lift out of its hinges the reactionary forces of the party in power, is just an advice to jump out of the frying pan into the fire—and back again at intervals.

The people have only one way

open for their fight against reaction—to form a real people's party. They must form a party in which they are the active and the determining force. The road toward this goal is not short and straight. The march on that road will not be free of defeats and disappointments. But in such defeats the people can and will learn. As they learn, their disappointments will push them on to new, more effective efforts.

Now, when one sees the right road ahead one must travel it. Political convictions mean action—or they do not mean anything. So—please, let's go! Max Bedacht

The people per se

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your article says so well what I believe about political activity for enlightened persons of the present time in the U. S. . . . I like the words "an independent people's coalition." I would be in favor of calling it the People's Party, for that is what it is—the people per se organizing against all their users for personal anti-people gains. G. A. Kaup

A challenge

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Bravo! Your editorial is a clarion blast. It will hearten the hesitant, guide the confused and deafen the false. For the great host of American progressives it is a challenging statement of policy, clear and forthright, which must be made the basis of a program for action now to secure the lives the freedoms and the happiness of all the people. Charles Rothenberg

"New remedies"

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As welcome as rain for the fertilization of land . . . The two old parties have ceased to be reliable for promoting the people's good. Both are now eager and efficient servants of powerful plutocratic oligarchies. All progressives unite now for building a new, peaceful, neighborly, cooperative America, keeping in mind these words of Francis Bacon: "He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils." A. Garcia Diaz

Get out of the maze

FLEMINGTON, N. J.

It's more than time that the American people get out of that republican-democratic maze and start a great opposition party! But still the outlook is dim; perhaps the approaching depression may awake those dreaming of eternal prosperity, if it is not too late.

Andrew Cordian

Intelligent talk

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A great big bouquet for your Call. I hope we will have some more of such fearless, intelligent talk. Name Withheld

They get the whey

DEERWOOD, MINN.

I am happy about your Call. The two old parties milk the same cow, take all the cream and cheese and expect the producers to be satisfied with the whey. I am sending some material to the 9th District Farmer Labor Federation. Frank Engman

Third parties a barrier

MANTON, MICH.

I have been telling my liberal friends for years now that all of them should get into the Democratic Party and assist with their better understanding in turning all northern states into a New Deal democratic party. Third parties only prolong the coming of the better day. Loren N. O'Brien

Winning slogan

PORTLAND, ORE.

The powers that be are piling up such a debt as to enslave the future generation. If a third party would come out baldly for restoration of all natural resources, it would sweep the country. We have just elected two members of Congress who advocated the public ownership of hydro-electric power. Unless this is done, future generations will be slaves to the Wall St. Interests. H. H. Stallard

"WE HAD A MORAL DUTY TO DO WHAT WE DID"

Carl Braden writes from a Kentucky jail

In May, 1954, Carl Braden, then a copy reader on the Louisville Courier-Journal, and his wife Anne bought a house in an all-white suburb of Louisville, Ky., then sold it to the family of Andrew Wade IV, a young Negro contractor. After a terror campaign, Wade's house was bombed. A grand jury investigation of the bombing turned into a witch-hunt against those who had defended Wade's right to own his home. This resulted in seven indictments for "sedition" under a 34-year-old state law. Braden, first to be tried, was found guilty by the county court jury, which recommended 15 years in jail and a $5,000 fine. He was fired from his paper and remanded to jail. On Jan. 17 Braden was formally sentenced to 15 years; appeal bond was set at $40,000. The trial of Anne Braden, free in $10,000 bond, is Feb. 28.

JEFFERSON COUNTY JAIL
LOUISVILLE, KY.

SINCE MY CONVICTION Dec. 13, I've been pretty well occupied with geting adapted to jail routine and with conferences with my lawyers. Formal sentencing was Jan. 17. We now plan to appeal to the Kentucky Court of Appeals and then to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary.

The immediate problem then will be to provide bond pending appeal. If I can't make bond, I'll be sent to the Kentucky State Prison at La Grange, to begin serving my 15-year sentence. The fine of $5,000 will have to be taken care of later.

The shock resulting from my conviction has begun to wear off of many people in this community. One of the first reactions was panic. Few stopped to consider that I was convicted because I helped a Negro to buy a house outside the ghetto. Most could see only the charge that I was a Communist advocating overthrow of the U.S. government and the government of Kentucky by force and violence.

SECOND WIND: As the nature of the hoax became more apparent, people began to pull themselves together. Letters to the local newspapers pointed out that the courts were taking the place of the Ku Klux Klan in punishing white people who dared to work with Negroes to break down segregation.

The reactionaries harped on the theme that my wife Anne and I had set back race relations here by many years when we helped Andrew Wade IV to move into a previously all-white neighborhood.

They piously declared that race relations had been improved in recent years by the admission of Negroes to the Amphitheatre, the golf course, hospitals, public libraries and bus depots. They neglected to say that these gains were made as a result of a constant militant struggle by the progressive forces in Louisville and Kentucky.

For example, the father of Andrew Wade IV was the moving force in a suit that opened the golf course. My wife Anne played a big part in the movement to open hospital facilities to Negroes. This included the organization of a large delegation that went to the State Capital in 1951 to protest jimcrow practices in hospitals. This protest followed the death of a Negro man who was denied treatment at a hospital in Hardinsburg, Ky., after an auto accident in Sept., 1950.

... HEY, YOU CAN'T SELL YOUR HOUSE TO THAT FELLOW!
I DON'T LIKE THE COLOR OF HIS SKIN!
FURTHERMORE--YOU ARE CAUSING ME TO LOSE MY TEMPER!
CAUSING LAW ABIDING CITIZENS TO TOSS BOMBS, EH?
DAMN AGITATOR!
BOOM

Drawing by Fred Wright

A SORRY STATE: I give you this background to help explain the special fury of the white supremacists when the Bradens and the Wades acted together to challenge jimcrow housing in 1954.

My wife and I are proud of the fact that we helped to rip the mask off the sorry state of race relations in this community. We are glad that we helped expose the widespread lack of concern for those forced to live in the ghetto. We feel that the resulting improvements will more than make up for any personal difficulties we may have as a result of our action.

We think the cries of the reactionaries are evidence of the effectiveness of what has been done. When they say we have set back race relations, they are actually bewailing the fact that we exposed the lack of any real race relations here. They had been getting by for years with statements about how they were improving race relations. They can no longer do that.

IT HAD TO BE: Many people have asked why Anne and I bought the house and than transferred it to Wade. As I stated at my trial, we felt we had a moral duty to do what we did. We could not be true to ourselves and to our beliefs if we did not respond to the call to help break down segregation in the vital area of housing.

We felt that a blow against Jim Crow in housing would also be a blow against segregation in the schools. We saw that there would never really be integration in the schools without integration in housing.

Another factor influencing our decision was the existence of a conspiracy to keep Negroes from buying in so-called white neighborhoods in this area. This is a conspiracy on the part of builders, realtors, lending institutions, public officials and others having to do with the purchase, sale and transfer of real estate hereabouts.

If Anne and I had declined to help Wade, we would have become part of this conspiracy. We would have been as guilty as the others, perhaps more so.

MUST BE RIGHT: The fury of the opposition after we had transferred the house to Wade convinced us more than ever that we had done right. This conviction grew as the threats against us mounted in number and intensity. We felt that anything which bothered the reactionaries so much must be good for the people.

Although I sit in a 6-by-8-foot jail cell facing 15 years in prison, I have not changed my opinion. In fact, I am strengthened in the belief that our country is on the verge of great changes that will benefit the people.

These changes will not come about because the reactionaries want them, but only because the people are willing to work and make some sacrifices to bring them out. From what I have seen in recent months, I am more than ever convinced that the people will do the job. After all, there are really very few people who want to live on their knees.

I think the GUARDIAN is doing a wonderful job in giving people the facts to fight with; and Ione Kramer has done such a marvelous job of presenting the issues in the Wade case.

A STEEL WALL: I have set down my feelings as they occurred to me and have made no effort to polish or rewrite the result. My writing tablet is placed on top of a small box which is propped on my knees. I sit on an iron cot with my back against the steel wall, as there are no chairs in my cell. In fact, there are no other fixtures except a commode, a sink and a 2-by-2-foot ledge extending out from the opposite wall. This ledge is too high for anything, except to stand and eat off of it.

They say conditions are better at La Grange Prison. I sincerely hope so.

CARL BRADEN,
Cell 11, Section 1-B

THE TUSKEGEE FINDINGS

Lynching report 'smug,' Negro press says; Irvin case spotlights 'legal' murders

By Eugene Gordon

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE in Alabama, founded in 1880 by Booker T. Washington, began in 1890 making an annual tally of lynchings. A year ago it issued its 64th report and said it would be the last; "lynching," said newly-elected pres. L. F. Foster, "as a barometer for measuring the status of race relationship," was outmoded.

This month Tuskegee made its first use of a barometer "based on employment and other economic conditions, politics, education, health" and other "fields significant for the present times." The new report stated cautiously:

> "Modification of the legal position of one racial group in relation to the other may cause the relationship between the two groups to improve or worsen, [so that] only when the modification is in consonance with aspirations shared by both groups is improvement of their relationship to be confidentially anticipated."

GLOVES WILL BE WORN: That conclusion, said the Baltimore Afro-American (1/8), was "smug" and "a lot of poppycock"—for whether or not the majority of law-abiding citizens agree with a Supreme Court decision, they finally accept it as law. To prove that the government need not wait to enact anti-lynch legislation until white lynchers and Negro victims were equally "ready" for it, the Afro cited the general acceptance of the high court verdicts against jimcrow Democratic party primaries and segregated public schools. The Afro found Tuskegee's new look at lynching "just as disappointing as were some of that institution's earlier conservative estimates of mob violence."

The N. Y. Amsterdam News observed, when Tuskegee announced the change last year, that lynchers now were wearing gloves to hide the new forms of their crimes. Civil Rights Congress exec. secy. William L. Patterson listed among improved-style lynchings (GUARDIAN, 2/15/54) the "murderous attacks on Negroes by 'peace officers'" and the bomb-killing of NAACP leaders Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore at Mims, Fla. Patterson insisted that "the court decrees which send innocent Negroes to their deaths—the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee" were no less lynchings because the killer's hand was gloved by legality.

NEW TECHNIQUES: When within a few days of Tuskegee's "new look" report the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the conviction and death sentence of Walter Lee Irvin, the realities stood brilliantly spotlighted in Florida's "Little Scottsboro" case whose last victim Irvin seemed destined to be.

The case, growing out of a "rape" alleged to have occurred at Groveland, Fla., in 1949, illustrates three stages of lynching in our time. The shooting to death of one of the four Negro accused, by a deputized mob as he ran for his life, was of the "classic" school except that the victim was not strung up or his body burned. Lake County sheriff Willis McCall's shooting of two of the others while taking them to a new trial—killing one and wounding Irvin—illustrated a later development of lynching techniques, the "peace officer" usurping the mob's function. (The fourth, "too young to die," got life on the chain gang.) With Irvin's death sentence by Florida courts and the U.S. Supreme Court's refusal to grant a review, "the law" moves in to perform its function on the highest levels.

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Afro-American, Baltimore

"That ought to take care of him."

THE FBI IS BUSY: In a recent report to Atty. Gen. Brownell, J. Edgar Hoover

(Continued on Page 5)

Legal lynchings

(Continued from Page 4)

implied that the FBI should get credit for the decline in old-style lynching; he said that "during the 10-year period in which crime has been on the increase, there have been 16 lynchings compared with 65 in the preceding decade" (N.Y. Times, 1/4). Actually, while concentrating on Negro "reds," the FBI has never caught a single lyncher nor prosecuted one, nor caught one Ku Kluxer charged with crimes against Negroes. Albert E. Kahn in his **Game of Death**, reporting on a visit he made to Mims after the Moore killing, wrote:

". . . No FBI agents were to be found in the community. Later I was informed that two agents had briefly appeared on the scene, although nobody seemed to know exactly what they were doing, and a number of individuals who wanted to offer information regarding the bombing were not questioned. This was at a time when literally dozens of FBI agents were engaged in trailing the wives and children of Communist Party leaders. The casual attention being paid by the FBI to the Moore case has been duplicated in scores of other bombings and terrorist outrages in Florida and elsewhere in the country."

What the record actually indicates is that it is FBI policy to avoid so-called civil rights cases involving Negroes. Hoover told a House appropriations subcommittee in January, 1950, that "Communist and Communist front organizations" deserved more attention than "the fields of civil rights and domestic violence"; in the former field the agency in 1949 has increased activities 45%. Hoover recommended to the committee that local police be left alone to solve "civil rights and domestic violence" cases.

GUARDIAN readers will recall the noisy denials last year when the "understanding" between Hoover's men and the NYC police was exposed. We shall try in our Negro History Week issue to list all 1954 lynchings despite their guises.

Miss Canard of 1954

In other words, a woman in Russia has a chance to be almost anything—except a woman. Even today, in relatively cosmopolitan Moscow, a good-looking, well-dressed girl wearing make-up is to the average Russian one of three things: a foreigner, an actress or a prostitute. No pretty girls look down from Russia's billboards. No beautiful models have their pictures splashed across the pages of **Pravda**. The majority of statues of women in Russian parks wear brassieres and gym pants! Needless to say, there is no "Miss U.S.S.R."

—From an article by Julie Whitney in Look, Nov. 30, 1954

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

SCOTT NEARING SPEAKS IN L.A. "WHERE IS CIVILIZATION GOING?" A timely, instructive and stimulating lecture-discussion by the eminent sociologist, Professor Scott Nearing, at City Terr. Cult. Center, 3875 City Terrace Dr. Tues., Feb. 1, 8:30 p.m. Adm.: $1 donation or new sub for Natl. Guardian.

SCOTT NEARING SCRUTINY will be turned to **"PROMOTING THE GENERAL WELFARE IN 1955"** when he speaks Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at 2936 W. 8th St., ½ blk. e. of Vermont. Single adm. $1; Feb.-May season pass, 4 programs $3. EDGAR SNOW speaks Mar. 3. **UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM.**

Chicago

REPEAL THE WALTER-McCARRAN LAW IN '55! Rally for defense of foreign born Americans. Speakers: Hon. Robt. Morss Lovett, Rabbi S. Burr Yampol, Thomas L. Slater. Auspices: Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Sun., Jan. 30, 2:30 p.m. Admission: 50c.

Detroit

IT'S NEW! IT'S EXCITING! It's the 1955 **GALA CULTURAL FESTIVAL** featuring songs and dances from many nations by outstanding artists. Sun., Jan. 30, 2 p.m., Club Supino, 5121 Oakman (nr. Michigan Av.), Dearborn. Proceeds to fight Walter-McCarran Law. Tickets $1, tax incl., at door or Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 2033 Park, Detroit 26. WO 1-5196.

CLASSIFIED

Los Angeles

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The Salt of the Earth

¶ Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour wherewith shall it be salted? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.

—Matthew V: 13

A Parable for 1955 . . .

. . . A New Punishment for an Old "Crime"

This Was the Crime:

FOR sixty-one years men have labored to bring forth the salt of the earth—its mineral riches. Which is more precious: the mineral wealth of the earth or the men who mine it, smelt it, mill it?

For sixty-one years these men have been organized in the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and they have fought many bitter battles to earn their daily bread; to earn the salt wherewith to salt it.

For sixty-one years those who own the minerals these men dig in the sweat of their brow have tried vainly to steal from the miners, the millworkers and the smelterers that precious "salt" which makes the difference between life and mere existence: their wages, their security, their hopes for an expanding standard of living.

The latest attempt to break this union takes the form of the Taft-Hartley indictment of Maurice Travis, national secretary-treasurer of the union. Like many an honest union leader before him—Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, Moyer and Pettibone—Travis is being framed. The device this time—the allegation that he falsified the Taft-Hartley "non-Communist" affidavit required of all union leaders.

This Is the Punishment:

MAURICE TRAVIS is well known to the 100,000 men who are organized in the union he heads, and who have elected him in secret ballot for the past eight years. They speak of him as "salt of the earth."

Travis has signed the Taft-Hartley affidavit every year since 1949. Why did the Attorney-General wait five years to issue this indictment?

Why did Vice-President Richard Nixon resort to the most degrading kind of red-baiting in the Rocky Mountain states, where Mine-Mill membership is strong and was active in the recent elections in defeating many Republican candidates?

Why did the Attorney-General issue the indictment exactly six days before the elections?

Why did the National Labor Relations Board hold hearings on Travis' affidavit when the courts have repeatedly held that it had no authority to investigate the validity of such affidavits?

What stoolpigeons will be brought forth at the impending trial, and for what purpose? All these questions can be answered in a single sentence:

The purpose of the NLRB hearings, the indictment, the impending trial, the whole frameup—is to try to smash Mine-Mill once and for all; to accomplish what sixty-one years of trying could not accomplish.

Webster defines "Salt of the Earth" as: "The sprinkling of people who preserve and give tone to the rest." Such are the 100,000 men of Mine-Mill; such is Maurice Travis, one of their elected leaders.

PROTEST TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL HERBERT J. BROWNELL, DEMANDING THAT HE DROP THE INDICTMENT OF MAURICE TRAVIS. CONTRIBUTE TO THE MINE-MILL & SMELTER WORKERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE: TABOR BUILDING, SIXTEEN AND CURTIS, DENVER 2, COLORADO.

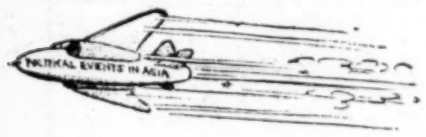
BIG BUSINESS TAKES THE WEALTH, LEAVES THE PEOPLE POOR

Behind Washington's concern for 'under-developed areas'

By Tabitha Petran

AS opportunities for highly profitable investment at home begin to dry up, U.S. economic royalists need more such outlets abroad for their vast accumulation of capital. This pressing need was reflected in the foreign economic program which the President outlined to Congress on Jan. 10.

The program is designed to step up export of capital—chiefly to under-developed areas—which remains relatively "little more than a trickle." How small it still is was the subject of complaints by many countries, including some which had granted big conces-



Herblock in Washington Post
"BACKWARD PEOPLE"

sions to attract U.S. investment, before the UN General Assembly's Economic & Social Committee last fall.

U.S. big business is acting much as it did in 1940 when, although hungry for war contracts, it refused to turn a wheel for the war effort until its terms were met (tax, profit concessions, etc., which permitted record-shattering profiteering). Today it holds back on overseas investment until it gets its terms. Asst. Secy. of Commerce Samuel Anderson, outlining strategy to the Natl. Foreign Trade Convention on Nov. 16, told business to stop discussing "publicly" its need to invest abroad, while "we emphasize the attractions for capital in the U.S. . . . talk with frankness as Clarence Randall did in Turkey . . . and . . . help educate our friends abroad on the ABC's known to every capital seeker in the U.S." ("If American capital is to come to Turkey," said Randall, head of the President's Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, "it must be wooed.")

For U.S. capital, said Anderson, the key aspect is "ability to realize the fruits of these investments."

WALL ST.'S TERMS: To insure these "fruits" U.S. economic royalists are holding out for:

● **Tax concessions:** Some of their demands are answered by the President's proposal to cut taxes on profits earned abroad 27% below the domestic rate, and to give U.S. corporations additional credits for foreign income taxes, even when such taxes are waived. They want from foreign governments further "tax incentives" and "customs privileges" (Report of Senate Banking Com.'s Citizens Advisory Com., 12/27).

● **Scrapping of exchange controls.** They tell foreign governments to get rid of exchange controls (maintained to protect the domestic economy, provide a source of revenue) so they can, at will, bring home overseas profits in dollars and repatriate invested capital. Under-developed countries, according to a 1954 UN report*, have been yielding to this demand, tending recently to relax exchange restrictions affecting foreign capital.

● **Government protection.** To insure this for their profits and investments overseas they demand that foreign governments negotiate with the U.S. government treaties providing "explicit safeguards" (Citizens Adv. Com. Rept.). In any case, they try to get direct foreign-government guarantees against expropriation. India, for example, had to give a 25-year guarantee against nationalization before it could get U.S. oil companies to invest. Another form of protection is envisaged in a new series of "umbrella" loans—to provide for joint U.S. government-private capital investment—being pushed by the Export-Import Bank. The idea is, said the **Wall St. Journal** (12/24), that "supposedly few foreign governments would want to mistreat a company in which there is a sizable U.S. government loan."

"CONDUCIVE" CONDITIONS: To some degree or another, these terms of the economic royalists are in process of being granted. But such "inducements" and "guarantees" don't make up, as **WSJ** (1/11) pointed out, "for the absence of political and economic conditions conducive to investment." These more fundamental conditions become clear in the post-war operations of U.S. capital abroad:

● Maximum profit, quickest return

More than 75% of U.S. investment in under-developed countries since the war has been in extractive industries, chiefly oil. Such industries (oil, minerals, plantation agriculture), where conditions of slavery are most closely approximated, offer the maximum labor exploitation (low labor efficiency resulting from near-starvation "justifies" the lowest possible wages) and the most direct scooping out of wealth. This concentration of foreign investment is, as Columbia Univ. Professor Ragnar Nurkse pointed out recently,** "a perfectly natural result of the free play of private profit motives." Such investments, he emphasized, do not promote industrialization but "harden and strengthen" the unbalance of backward economies and "served primarily the interests of the industrial creditor countries."

But under-developed countries need roads, railroads, sewers and power in order to develop—and have been unable to get foreign capital, public or private, to finance it. International loans were

Carrefour Paris
"To pass the time, let's talk about co-existence."

once available for the least profitable type of such construction. They are so no longer—partly because, as Belgian UN delegate Raymond Scheyven put it, the World Bank "lends only to the rich"; and partly because the governments seeking the loans want to engage also in the more profitable type of public utilities, formerly the preserve of private foreign enterprise*. But private capital is not interested because the profitability has been reduced by limits placed on increasing rates. (Private U.S. companies, however, increasingly get World Bank and Export-Import Bank loans to finance such—not highly profitable—utilities construction as is necessary to the operation of U.S. enterprises overseas.)

For all the talk of the "benefits" private investment brings to backward areas, the truth is that it is a process in which capital flows not to but **away from** under-developed countries. It is their wealth that goes to advanced countries, not vice versa. Net profits of foreign companies in the Belgian Congo, 1947-52, totaled more than investment. Foreign profits and interest taken out of Latin America, 1945-52, exceeded foreign investment four times. Since World War II, overseas profits of U.S. corporations have come to roughly double they invested abroad.

● Control of raw materials

Investments in oil, minerals, agriculture give U.S. companies control of the raw materials necessary to war economy, now the hall-mark of all advanced capitalist countries. Asst. Commerce Secy. Anderson urged U.S. business men to intensify exploitation of raw materials abroad since they will become increasingly necessary to the U.S.'s growing industrialization and can, in any case, be locked up in strategic stockpiles. Only such import of raw materials will, he said, assure them proper rewards on overseas investment. In short, U.S. business will reap profits by making the "free world" a colonial supplier of grist for its war machine.

● Economic domination

Foreign investment in extractive industries forces a growing one-sidedness on under-developed countries; their exports increasingly consist of one or two raw materials. For example: Coffee and oil made up 88% of Colombia's exports in 1937; 94% in 1951; 96% in 1953. Oil, 89% of Venezuela's exports in 1937; 94% in 1951; 96% in 1953. Tin and wolfram, 67% of Bolivia's exports in 1937; 79% in 1953. And their dependence on the investor country—from which, naturally, they must buy their imports—grows. Latin American exports to North America grew from 46% of the total in 1937 to 62% in 1953.

By manipulating raw material prices, the investor countries win economic domination over the under-developed countries and prevent their industrialization. Over the past 80 years prices of raw materials have advanced more slowly than those of manufactured goods. In 1953, Latin America's raw materials exports could buy only 60% of what they bought in 1870. Short-term fluctuations in raw material prices have been violent. After the Korean War, for instance, the U.S. ran up such prices by huge purchases, then suddenly stopped buying. The resulting drastic fall in prices and demand produced financial and economic crises in under-developed countries. These opened the way for tighter U.S. control.

Under-developed countries finance such economic development as they themselves undertake largely from export trade. The steep fall in raw material prices after the short-lived 1950-51 boom brought a disastrous decline in the rate of development throughout under-developed areas. In Latin America the annual rate of increase of industrial production was slowed from 7.7% over the 1945-51 period to 1.3% in 1953. This in a continent where it has been estimated*** that if the per capita product increased at an annual rate of 2.5% it would take 255 years to achieve ½ of the average per capita income of the U.S.—assuming an annual 2% rate of interest there.

● Political, military domination

To create and maintain the essential conditions for highly profitable investment, the economic royalists need political control of the governments of countries where they invest. As the World Bank's report for 1952-53 made clear, they are concerned with the "level of government spending, the tax structure, tariff and monetary policies" of these governments, their "use of public funds"; "administration" of government and business, etc. Wages must be kept at their lowest possible level; so must public expenditure on social, educational, cultural projects; industrialization must be limited, tax and tariff incentives granted to foreign capital.

Above all, movements toward nationalism must be crushed. This, especially today, requires military control as well. Since the war the U.S. has established bases and troops in scores of countries. If these are ultimately aimed at the socialist world, they are most immediately designed to make the "free world" safe for the investments of the economic royalists. But the required "safety," the necessary political and economic conditions have been achieved only in limited areas: Canada, Latin America, parts of the Middle East.

The dilemma of the economic royalists is that their growing wealth at the expense of the under-developed countries' growing poverty creates tensions which limit their opportunities. The field for highly profitable and safe investment of their capital is narrowing. Future articles will discuss the implications of this fact.

* International Flow of Private Capital, 1946-52.
** Problems of Capital Formation in Under-Developed Countries, Oxford, 1953.
*** UN Commission for Latin America.

Nearing in Los Angeles

PROF. SCOTT NEARING, author, lecturer and student of social forces, will speak under the auspices of NATIONAL GUARDIAN in Los Angeles Thurs. eve., Feb. 1. The topic: "Where Is Civilization Going?" The place: City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Dr., at 8:30 p.m. sharp. $1 donation or subscription to the GUARDIAN.

YOUTH DISCUSSION FORUM

Drawing by Gabriel, London
"Yes, we found our Colonies under a gooseberry bush and they are all administered by Santa Claus!"

'What we're trying to do around the world'

By Tabitha Petran (GUARDIAN, April 18, 1949):

"The Atlantic Pact masquerades as a military coalition and a guarantee of U.S. security. In reality . . . the primary aim . . . is to crush democratic movements and to block social and economic reform all over the world. . . . The Pact is the fruition of U.S. policy since the war's end, of the campaign to turn the clock back in Europe. Its immediate objective . . . is to arm European reaction to enable it to smash the labor and popular movements. . . ."

President Eisenhower in his press conference, Jan. 12, 1955:

JOSEPH C. HARSCH of the Christian Science Monitor—"Mr. President, sir, in your letter to Secy. Wilson about the new military budget you referred to the need for mobile forces and you said: 'We should provide for meeting lesser hostile acts in situations not broadened by the intervention of a major aggressor's forces.' Could you enlarge for us . . .?"

A— . . . Now, what they were trying to do around the world was to build up indigenous forces that could assure orderly government within the country and take care of any, normally take care of any, difficulty of rebellion, subversion, where there wasn't any major outside interference. Consequently the thought would be that if you did—were called upon by an established and friendly government to help out in some situation, that light forces, probably going in there by air or a Marine unit, fleet Marine units, in a near-by area, could come in and that would be sufficient to help out.

Costa Rica

(Continued from Page 1)

through Panama en route to Nicaragua with 25 crated F-51's, 500 Thompson submachine guns and 1½ million rounds of ammunition, 100 .50-caliber machine guns and 600 spare barrels; the U.S. did not stop passage of the Eleana to Nicaragua as it stopped two of three ships carrying arms bought by Guatemala's Arbenz regime. On Jan. 18 Somoza said the shipment was already being unloaded.)

The Somoza-Figueres feud, in fact, goes back to 1948 when Figueres overthrew Somoza's friend, Costa Rican dictator Picado. "It had a bad effect on Somoza financially; as a wealthy cattle-grower he could no longer smuggle his cattle over the border into the Costa Rican market" (**N. Y. Herald Tribune**, 1/16). Detroit **Free Press** noted 1/12):

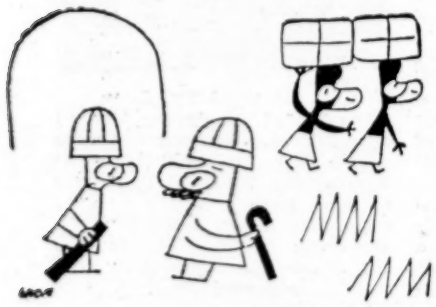
> "Somoza . . . the State Dept.'s chief house dick south of the border . . . would cheerfully invade Costa Rica and wring Figueres' neck, but it is highly improbable that he would do this unless Washington okayed it."

The **Christian Science Monitor**'s Robert M. Hallet wrote (1/10) that two years ago "a prominent Nicaraguan" told him if Figueres were elected President "there will be plenty of trouble between our countries." On Dec. 22 **NYT**'s correspondent, after a tour of Central America, reported:

> ". . . The period between early January and sometime in March, when the OCAS (Organization of Central American States) will hold its parley, will be a crucial one for the entire region."

PRESSURES — & WHY: Washington did nothing to put a leash on Somoza; it continued to "furnish him hardware" to build "the best army in C. America" (Detroit **Free Press**, 1/12). And when Nicaragua closed the deal for 25 Mustang fighters in Sweden,

> ". . . the effect was enormous on every Central American country. . . . The common knowledge in these republics that telling pressures are being exerted from without and, to a lesser extent, from within on the Figueres Administration does make a great impression" (**NYT**, 12/26/54).



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"We've raised their pay to 15,000 lashes per month."

Reasons for pressure from "without" and "within" were not far to seek. A relatively democratic island in a sea of dictatorships, Costa Rica has Central America's highest literacy rate (60%), some progressive labor laws. Figueres, who considers permanent private foreign interests "a suction-pump which siphons off most of the wealth produced" (**Time**, 11/16/53), has put some slight curb on U.S. corporations in Costa Rica. Under present contract terms the U.S.-owned American & Foreign Power Co.'s subsidiary Compania Fuerza y Luz—major supplier of Costa Rica's electric power—can hold only 35% of its net invested capital in shares, take only 10% of its 35% shareholding in profits, raise its tariff only when profits fall below 10%. The unhappy power company, "hobbled by the terms of its contract, has no present plans for any expansion" (**NYT**, 1/5).

"HE'S CRAZY AS A GOAT IN THE NOON-DAY SUN"

That's what Costa Rica's Figueres said of Nicaragua's Somoza (c.) when the latter, a crack shot, challenged him to a duel.

CHAFING ROYALISTS: Under a new contract the U.S.-owned United Fruit Co.—dominating Costa Rica's economy as it dominates Guatemala's—must pay income taxes at legal rates and government-approved minimum wages to its workers. United Fruit did not come off so badly in the contract: wages are frozen for two years, taxes are "not to exceed 30% of net income," and it has "effected savings by ridding itself of the running and upkeep of its dispensaries and hospitals" by unloading them on the government. But "property owners and business men have been chafing under the regime's far-reaching reforms" (**NYT**, 1/12).

Washington has been worried enough about the entire region to schedule an OCAS meeting in Guatemala in March, and a "goodwill" Caribbean tour by Vice-President Nixon. (In the latter connection **NYT** reported ominously on Jan. 9 that Nixon had "the task of trying to tidy up a domestic situation in one of the countries he will visit. The situation and the country are still top secrets in the State Dept.") The OCAS conference to study "eventual economic and social integration" of Central America was first set for last year, but postponed at Nicaragua's request.

THE SPOTLIGHT: Where responsibility lies for the aggression was neatly pin-pointed in London's **New Statesman** (1/15), which editorialized that "a word from Washington could make 'Tacho' Somoza . . . abandon the force which was trained and equipped in his country" as, last year, "rebels armed by Honduras and Nicaragua" invaded Guatemala. The paper saw these other "close similarities" between the Guatemalan and Costa Rican invasions:

- "The Costa Rican Government gave warning of it, asked for help.
- "Everything is being done to pretend that it is a genuine rebellion, though the 'rebel' units have been flown across the frontier and are being supplied by planes based on Nicaragua.
- "Now that Guatemala has been brought into line with its neighbors, Costa Rica is the only country in Central America [with] a democratic regime, free trade unions, a labor code and social insurance. . . ."

The editorial continued:

> "President Figueres had good reason to fear that his country was next on the list after Guatemala, and that the task of 'liberating' the Costa Ricans would fall to President Somoza . . . the 'policeman of Central America,' whom the U.S. Marines installed in power more than 20 years ago. Somoza helped organize the Guatemalan intervention and—as a reliable ally—received substantial shipment of U.S. arms last year. Once before, during the short Costa Rican civil war of 1948, units were sent from Nicaragua to assist the defeated candidate in the election. . . . In 1951, an abortive revolt in Costa Rica was sponsored by Somoza. . . .
>
> "Mr. Dulles . . . has undoubtedly had his suspicions of Costa Rica since its Government . . . refused to attend the Caracas Conference last year . . . as a protest against the ruthless dictatorship in Venezuela. And, in the last two or three years, U.S. policy has jettisoned the last traces of [Roosevelt's] Good Neighbor policies. . . . Though Washington no longer sends in the Marines, it is using men like Somoza and the Venezuelan leaders to deal with 'Communism,' to provide armed bases for the protection of the Panama Canal, and to safeguard the interests of the U.S. fruit, railway, power, oil interests."

Although the OAS commission has at least pointed a hesitant finger at Nicaragua, Washington has uttered no condemnation of Somoza. Unless Costa Rica is fully victorious and vindicated, "Tacho" Somoza—whom the U.S. Marines loved because he knew "English with all the four-letter words he had learned . . . in Philadelphia" (German Arciniegas, **The State of Latin America**)—would emerge as Washington's most potent dictator ally in Central America.

"Tacho's" point of view

Among other items, Gen. Somoza is said to own 50 houses, 52 ranches, 46 coffee plantations, 18 farms, 8 sugar plantations and mills, 13 industrial plants, 76 urban and 16 rural unimproved properties . . . a ranch in Costa Rica, an estate in Canada, and three apartment houses in Miami. Small wonder if he lacks sympathy for a neighboring regime trying to carry out an agrarian reform.

—J. Alvarez de Vayo in **The Nation**, 1/22.

Liberation, Paris

UNITED FRUIT

Mathematics of U. S. colonialism

U. S. direct investment in Central America at end of 1953:

Costa Rica	$ 61 million	El Salvador	$ 22 million
Guatemala	$107 million	Honduras	$ 82 million
Nicaragua	$ 9 million	Panama	$395 million

(Source: Survey of Current Business, Nov., 1954)

Central American trade, 1953:

Exports: Total	$390,400,000;	To U. S.	$235,000,000
Percentage of U. S. to Total			60%
Imports: Total	$391,800,000;	From U. S.	$264,500,000
Percentage of U. S. to Total			68%

(Source: Foreign Commerce Weekly, Dec. 27, 1954)

Material collected by Latin America Today

What a Paris newspaper *La tribune des Nations* says about Belfrage's book

L'HEBDOMADAIRE DU MONDE ENTIER

UNDER the title "Seeds of Destruction" a book has just appeared in the U. S. which is a great document of our times—and this for a double reason.

On the one hand its British author, Cedric Belfrage, is awaiting the outcome of deportation proceedings which the U. S. authorities have launched in connection with his political activities, following a "hearing" by Sen. McCarthy in 1953. The latter sought to demonstrate, from the testimony of Mr. Belfrage, who served with the Psychological Warfare Divn. during and after the last war, how a "secret Communist conspiracy sought to democratize the German press" after liberation.

As far as the Senator's enterprise is concerned, it was an attempt to lend credence to one of those legends —as absurd as they are malicious— invented in order to compromise the Democratic administrations (Roosevelt-Truman) which are supposed to have tried to "bolshevize everybody," at least in Germany.

ON the other hand, Mr. Belfrage has launched a "counter-attack" against the Wisconsin senator-inquisitor and the over-assiduous administration of President Eisenhower. He has spotlighted the fact that the democratization measures in the German press field were conceived in quite a different spirit than that which moves the present Republican administration; and that they were ordered—a piquant detail —by Gen. Eisenhower himself as commander in chief of the allied forces in the W. European theater.

Based upon the co-operation of all anti-fascist elements in Germany, the measures originally carried out promised results of a different "democratic" kind than the tendencies now being shown in German newspapers and public opinion once more enthralled to heavy industry.

Mr. Belfrage has furthermore painted a remarkable social and psychological picture of Germany and of its occupiers in 1945-46. It is regrettable that relatively few such documents have appeared in postwar literature.

THE IMPORTANCE for our time of Mr. Belfrage's account consists precisely in its very significant recalling of the facts of the occupation, which have in a profound sense determined the political evolution of both occupied and occupiers in the past decade. If the battle for democratization seems to have failed in Germany, in America there is now Sen. McCarthy to investigate those who attempted it.

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TRIBUNE'S MALARKEY KELLY'S MALARKEY

Pogo's got his troubles too

Walt Kelly's delightful comic strip "Pogo" places its all-too-human animals in something called the Okefenokee swamp. Periodically the swamp is infested by a characted named Simple J. alaMrkey, a bobcat with a blunderbuss and a penchant for herring, who bears a most remarkable likeness to Sen. Joe McCarthy. "Pogo" is carried in the Oakland **Tribune**, owned by the father of Sen. Knowland. Readers of the **Tribune** noticed that whenever Malarkey appeared features were altered from his likeness in the San Francisco **News** or the Richmond **Independent.** Inquiry disclosed that the paper was doctoring Malarkey without Kelly's knowledge. The Providence **Journal** went the **Tribune** one better; it omitted the strip whenever Malarkey appeared. It explained: "The editors have strong views on McCarthy but they will continue to confine their expression to the editorial page." To which Kelly replied: ". . . the editorial page is no place to discuss comic characters."

THE NEW CODE

Will the comics be cleaned up?

By Ione Kramer

ISSUES of "comic" books appearing on newsstands beginning this month will bear the "stamp of approval" of the Comics Code Authority, set up in what **Newsweek** called a "desperation bid" by 28 of the nation's 31 comic publishers. The code's czar is former N.Y. Judge Charles F. Murphy, whose annual $40,000 salary and $60,000 expense account come out of the comics industry's pocket.

A sampling of comic books bearing the new seal reveals that the content is slightly less gory, but violence is still the main theme. Although the code forbids scenes of "excessive violence" and "unnecessary knife and gun play," GUARDIAN found a couple of knifings and 12 shootings in one "approved" comic. Another "approved" book is titled "War" and a third features "All Out War."

SEX AND THE YWCA: Others show an electrocution; an insane killer whose body "absorbs round after round" of lead; plenty of kicks in the face; head-cracking; dying men, and sexy dames whose "headlights" are now clothed in what the code's office calls nothing more suggestive than a YWCA bathing suit.

Minority groups come in for the same racist treatment, including tomahawking Indians, blood-thirsty Koreans, wild African tribes, and more than one story in which the colored man defers to "bwana" white man's wisdom. As a good will gesture to Asia's colored peoples, there is our hero Joe King, "cowboy sahib" American ruler of the Empire of Larjuna in India, who declares that neighboring "Queen Rani" "ain't the first filly I've put in her place."

THE REAL TEST: Horror stories as such are temporarily off the stands; the industry knows the public is watching. But along with violence, most other objectionable features remain: bad printing and drawing; poor language and spelling; the threat to good reading habits, and ads for phony muscle builders (guns and knives are not presently being advertised).

The comics code's real character will be demonstrated in the books' contents six months from now, when parents have relaxed and state legislatures have ended their sessions without enacting control laws.

Writing in **Religious Education** (Nov.-Dec.), Dr. Frederic Wertham recalled a comics industry "code" of a few years ago:

"Comic books with the Seal of Approval were, if anything, more vicious and harmful than those without it. But editors, news commentators, clergymen and women leaders all over the country fell for their promises. . . . Now are they going to make the same mistake again, betraying the children they are supposed to guard? . . . Of course there are larger issues in the world today, and mightier matters to be debated. But maybe we will lose the bigger things, if we fail to defend the nursery."

A MONSTER LOOSE: In Britain the drive against horror comics ("H-comics") which is assuming the proportions of the drive to outlaw the H-bomb, was spurred by an incident this fall which took Glasgow back to the Middle Ages. When a story spread through the schools that a "vampire with iron teeth" was abroad, crowds of teen-agers and young children, armed with sticks and stones, flocked to the cemetery where the monster was supposed to be.

American comic books are forbidden in **Britain**, but they are reprinted there from American "mats" and, as the London **Daily Telegraph** reported: "They are being sent to American troops . . . and find their way to children."

CONTROL PUSHED: A London exhibit of comics collected in schools by the Natl Union of Teachers was widely attended by church and government leaders, and was requested by 30 other cities. Besieged by letters, editorials and delegations (including one led by the Archbishop of Canterbury) urging legal action, the new Home Secretary put himself on record for control.

On Jan. 1 the British Comics Campaign Council, a volunteer group, submitted a draft law, similar to Canada's, prohibiting importation, publication or sale of certain clearly defined comics.

In West Germany the Society for Pediatrics and the Assn. for Child Psychiatry have petitioned Bonn for a law against American comics.

2 fine books on Spanish war republished

THE VETERANS of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade have just republished two of the most stirring books to come out of the Spanish Civil War. They are Alvah Bessie's **Men in Battle** and the late Edwin Rolfe's **The Lincoln Battalion,** printed on fine paper in individual volumes and handsomely boxed. They sell in the bookstores for $6 a set. They may be purchased directly from the VALB, 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N.Y., for $5 a set, postage paid.

Bessie is a reporter of deepest integrity. His book is an intense narrative, personal, stark and real. These men in battle come to life with the rottenness of war and the magnificent courage and conscience that impelled them to go to Spain.

First published in 1939, it drew splendid notices. Clifton Fadiman had this to say in the **New Yorker**: "The best American book so far to come out of the Spanish War. . . . I commend it to those who realize that the Spanish War is no closed chapter in contemporary history."

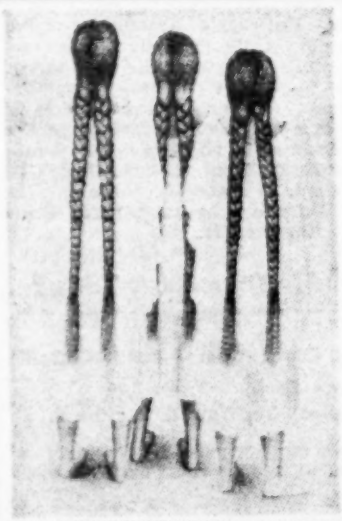
WHAT MADE THEM: Rolfe's book is the story of the Americans (there were 2,800 of them) who fought in Spain—what made them go, how they got there, what happened to them in Spain and when they got home, those who did. It was the result of close-up observation, diaries, letters, personal stories and documents. It has the same penetrating quality which marks the poetry for which Rolfe is best known.

The Washington **Post** said of this book when it was first published: "They can have no monument erected to them at home, nor would they have desired one. But this book is a worthy memorial to their reckless faith and courage, the only kind they would have asked for."

For young people to whom "Spain" is only a slogan that can bring tears to the eyes of their elders, this set of books would make a fine gift; for older people who missed owning a first edition, it will be a reaffirmation of ideals that burn as bright today as they did in 1937. —J. A.

AN OVATION

When Marian Anderson (above) appeared this month on stage at the Metropolitan Opera in Verdi's "The Masked Ball," she received applause the like of which has rarely been heard in the opera house. The reason: she is the first Negro to sing with the Met.



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Give an introductory sub to the Guardian.

NEW YORK

The hard life of the city's cab drivers

A CAB-DRIVER who drops a passenger in the middle of Queens can't afford a trip back to Manhattan without a fare. Reluctantly he hits the long line of cabs that meet the planes at LaGuardia or Idlewild airports. It is a last resort because it means yet another shakedown in a job already plagued by them.

This particular shakedown is no under-the-table maneuver. The N. Y. Port Authority taxes every driver 25c for every fare he picks up at an airport. The fleet owners never reimburse him. He can't pass the cost on to his passenger.

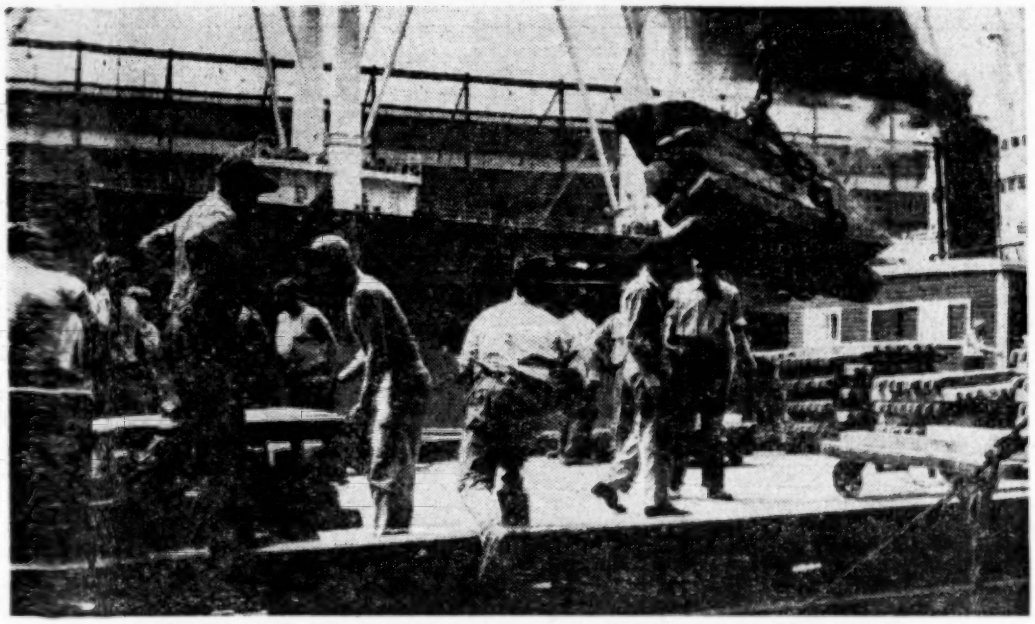
BOYCOTT POSSIBLE: Many of the cabbies who cover the airports as their regular beat own their own cabs and charge the shakedown to business expense. (The P. A. issues monthly permits for $15.) Last week the United Taxi Owners Guild (representing about 1,650 cabbies) came to the end of their patience in negotiations with the Port Authority. UTOG Gen. Mgr. Salvador Barron told the GUARDIAN:

"The P.A. told us they'd even fight any change in the regulations that would allow the passenger to pay the 25c. They say they want to keep the cost of services at the airport low—but we have to pick up the tab."

Barron said the Guild was sounding out other organizations of taxi-drivers, would take the matter to the Governor. He indicated a taxi boycott of the airports might be a last resort.

STILL SHAPING UP: The airport shakedown is another straw (possibly but not probably the last one) on the backs of New York's cab drivers, who bear the burdens of the largest unorganized industry in the city.

Hacking has many of the evils that plagued the waterfront for years. Longshoremen got rid of the shape-up but in the company garages from



WHEN THINGS GET TOUGH, IT'S THE WATERFRONT OR THE HACK
And in both areas the workers know police control only too well

6-8 every morning, 3-5 every afternoon, the cabbies still shape up. The shape-up brings the shakedown in the garages as on the waterfront. It makes it necessary for drivers to seek favor from the dispatcher who says whether or not a man may work on any particular day.

When the relief rolls get heavy in the city the unemployed are sent to two places: the waterfront and the hack license bureau. In tough times cabbies must compete with unemployed who are funneled from other trades to join the shape-ups.

60 HOURS—$60: Longshoremen last week were threatening to strike unless the Waterfront Commission eased the manacles it has fastened on longshoremen through screening, fingerprinting and hiring control with its b'acklist. The hackies have known police control for decades. Every driver and every cab is licensed by the police. The hack bureau under the Police Dept. hears charges against any driver, delivers the verdict and the sentence (suspension of the license or revocation). Only in recent months have the cabbies won the right to confront an accuser in an open hearing at the hack license bureau.

There are 20,000 or so regulars, those who drive "steady cars" (the same cab every day) and the "steady extras" who drive every day though not the same cab. In good times they can be reasonably sure of work when they show up. Whether he works days or nights, a driver must put in 60 hours of nerve-tearing heavy-traffic driving every week to earn enough and to keep in good standing with the dispatcher. He is on commission so that he must fight for every fare or see his earnings dwindle.

A cabbie on the streets for 10 hours a day, six days a week, rarely earns much more than $60 a week including 44-45% of the fare plus tips. A night driver, putting in the same time, may make $65-$85. Out of that he occasionally slips a dispatcher a $5 bill and he must pay his airport tax.

COPS AND ROBBERS: The companies keep their cabs rolling long hours by pointing out to the "steadies" that there are 5,000 or so "extras" on hand at every day's shape-up to take over the cabs and keep the meters clicking.

The cabs stopped rolling throughout the city in 1940 when the CIO Transport Workers Union organized the men, and again in 1949, when District 50 of the United Mine Workers called them out. Both times the strikes were broken by a combination of police, the press and the companies.

In the last days of the week-long strike in April, 1949, a driver told a **Federated Press** reporter: "The city's dicks are riding in cabs. . . . They have threatened to take away our hack licenses if we don't go back. . . . They are working hand-in-glove with the big owners against us."

Unionists, confronted by massive police demonstrations and City Hall hostility, blamed most of the defeat on William O'Dwyer, whom District 50's regional director Walter Brock called "New York's No. 1 double-crossing, strike-breaking mayor of all time."

HACKIE'S DEFENDER: The late Vito Marcantonio, running for mayor in that year on the American Labor Party ticket, said: "Bill was protecting the scabs and the fleet owners, not the honest drivers who have been fighting for a decent wage."

Marcantonio had a cabbie's plank in his platform. He promised to take the Hack Bureau out of the Police Dept. and assure driver representation on it; stop the 25c airport tolls; eliminate the shape-up and freeze the number of hack licenses.

In a radio broadcast Marcantonio said: "For many years now the Republican and Democratic parties have continued to force these conditions on the industry. They have used the taxi industry as a dumping-ground for the unemployed. The Welfare Bureau denies relief and sends relief applicants into the industry. The Unemployment Compensation Office stops unemployment payments and encourages workers to get hack licenses and drive down standards in an already overcrowded field. . . . They are forcing the cab driver to carry the unemployed on his back."

Of police control, Marcantonio said: "You take a board that has the power of life and death over the drivers and then you place it in the one department of the city that is least likely to be friendly and sympathetic to the men it bosses around. That just does not make any sense in my book."

STATUS IS QUO: In the past six years the cabbie's lot has scarcely changed. There have been no taxi planks in platforms since then and no strikes.

In February, 1953, pres. Dave Beck of the AFL Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters said as others had said before him, that there is "no more abused group of workers in the U.S. than the taxi-drivers." The teamsters are still at bat.

(In a forthcoming issue the GUARDIAN will explore what may lie ahead for the cabbies.)

THE LEGISLATURE

Rent control: Watch out for fake promises in Albany

By Arthur Schutzer
Guardian legislative correspondent

ASSEMBLY SPEAKER OSWALD D. HECK's statement that some form of rent control will continue should lull no one into complacency because:

- State Senate majority leader Walter J. Mahoney (Buffalo) significantly refrained from joining in it. Mahoney and his colleagues have been urged by real estate spokesmen to let controls die on June 30, 1955, their present expiration date.
- Even Heck's statement left the door wide open to killing all rent controls upstate and to limiting N.Y.C. to some form of weak, local controls.
- Heck's statement is designed to head off any fight for a rollback in rents, the idea being to make tenants so glad to get some extension of rent control they will forget the 15% hike authorized in 1953.

CLARIFICATION, PLEASE: Mahoney is an officer and director of the City Title Insurance Co., 32 Broadway, N.Y.C. Among his fellow officers and directors are U. S. Sen. Irving M. Ives; the former Republican chairman of the Assembly Ways & Means Committee, D. Mallory Stephens (whose committee handled rent control legislation); and Stephens' son, W. J. Stephens.

City Title Insurance has clear ties with big real estate interests among its clients. It is engaged in the title insurance business in N.Y., N.J., Conn., Pa., and operates branches in White Plains, Mineola and Levittown, Pa.

Questions: Has Mahoney publicly filed a statement of this business connection, under Dewey's state code of ethics? Will Mahoney remain as chairman of the powerful Senate Finance Committee while it decides the fate of rent control legislation?

WED., JAN. 26

Rent control topic of parley

RENT control will be the subject of a public legislative conference sponsored by the Natl. Lawyers Guild at 8 p.m., Wed., Jan. 26, at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St. City and state legislators have been invited to speak.

Interested individuals and groups are expected to exchange views on problems presented by the scheduled expiration on June 30 of N.Y. State's rent control law. Discussion will cover: (1) whether to extend the law, and for how long; (2) suggested amendments; (3) rules for administering it.

CLEMENCY DRIVE

3 youths pin hope for life on Harriman

GOV. HARRIMAN reportedly was ready to call a hearing this week on clemency petitions for three Puerto Rican youths scheduled to die in Sing Sing's electric chair the first week in February.

The three—Concepcion Estrada Correa, Henry Matthews, both 17, and Pedro Antonio Rios, 22—were convicted last March of murdering an 80-year-old woman. The all-white jury gave its verdict while headlines called for round-ups of Puerto Ricans in connection with the Nationalist shooting in Congress. The State's case was complicated by third-degree charges. All three continue to maintain their innocence. The N.Y. State Court of Appeals split 4-3 in upholding the verdict.

The move for clemency gained strength last week when Dist. Atty. Hogan and Judge Jonah Goldstein (who sentenced the three) asked Gov. Harriman to commute Estrada Correa's sentence.

PUERTO RICO'S REACTION: Puerto Rico's Governor Luis Munoz Marin said he felt it would be improper for one governor to directly intercede with another but said publicly that he would be "greatly gratified" if Gov. Harriman would commute the sentences. Jose A. Benitez, chairman of the Democratic Party in Puerto Rico, said he would go to Washington and Albany to intercede for the three.

El Diaria de Nueva York reported that the General Puerto Rican Confedn., a N.Y. group which launched the campaign to save the youths' lives, had raised $700 so far which, it said, would still be insufficient to take the case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

It appealed for contributions to be sent to Pedro Rodriguez, pres., Confederacion General Puertoriquena, Inc., 94 Clifton Pl., Brooklyn, 16.

ASR RUNAWAY

Police harass union aides in Staunton

WORKERS of the American Safety Razor Co. who visited Staunton, Va., have been barred from hotels, stopped on the highway and threatened by police.

ASR is running away from its unionized Brooklyn plant to open-shop, low-wage Staunton while its 1,400 Brooklyn workers, made jobless by the move, launch a nation-wide anti-runaway fight through their union, the United Electrical Workers.

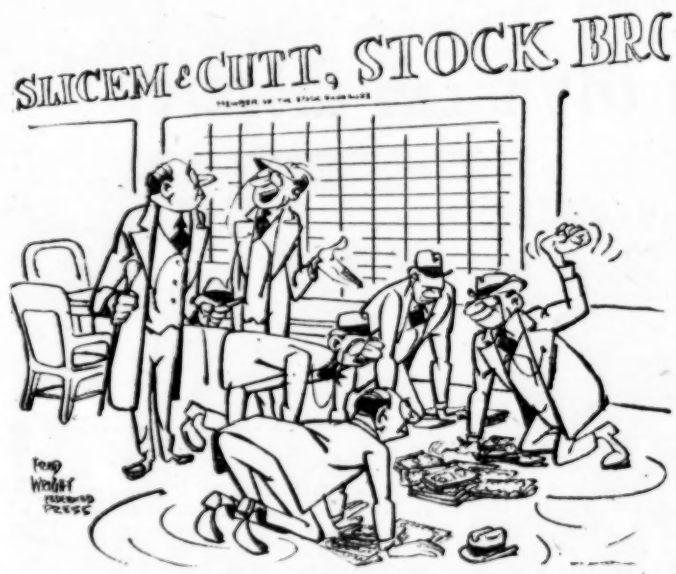
UE Local 475 sent ASR workers Burt Caplan, Dan Whitfleet, Gus and Ann Santangelo to tell Staunton workers about ASR's plans to leave its Brooklyn workers without a pension or severance agreement. In **UE News** (1/3) Caplan told their story.

WELCOME TO STAUNTON: Whitfleet and Caplan were stopped by a sheriff on the highway one mile from ASR's new plant. Caplan wrote: "The sheriff eventually let us go but not until he had briefed us on Virginia's 'right-to-work' laws, the size of their jail and the size of the police force."

Whitfleet and Caplan stayed in town, learned that ASR was paying workers $1 an hour to install machinery in the plant, won a friendly reception from the town's workers, then reported back to the local in Brooklyn.

The following week Caplan returned to Staunton, this time with the Santangelos, and began visiting ASR workers in their homes. He called one worker and when his wife said he was not home, left and came back later. Shortly afterward police came to his YMCA room, took him to the station house. Caplan reported:

"The police chief told me I had to get out of town immediately; that I was an agitator, a trouble maker and a union man. He told me the people in the South didn't want to be bothered by unions, they were content with life as it had been for years. He told me he had called up all the hotels and the YMCA and told them not to rent me rooms."



"It saves a tremendous amount of time and paper work with practically the same results."

A BROAD HINT: The chief outlined a possible frame-up for Caplan, charging him with forcing his way into a woman's house (where he had been told the husband was out). The chief hinted that the man he had gone to see (he was not even friendly, Caplan reported) might be fired by ASR. On the chief's desk as he talked to Caplan was the ASR Brooklyn plant's seniority list which he had been checking.

Caplan was let go with a warning that he would be closely watched. That night the YMCA canceled his room. Caplan found a shortage of skilled workers in Staunton and, among ASR's new workers a great interest in unionization.

HEARST-AID: A column by Hearst's Victor Reisel has appeared in full-page ads taken by ASR in Staunton newspapers, is used as a form letter to answer protests received by the company, and is circulated by UE's rival, CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers. In it Riesel lists pension and severance benefits allegedly promised by the company, without reporting that these gains were won in hard bargaining by the union, then canceled when the company refused to sign unless UE abandoned all efforts to rally the community against the runaway plan.

ASR's Brooklyn workers continued to picket the plant at Jay St., sent workers around the country to carry the ASR story, and persuade Congressmen to press for $1.25 minimum wage that would halt the runaway trend. UE has clamped down a tight ASR boycott. ASR makes Gem razors and blades, also Treet, Pal, Silver Star, Blue Star and Personna blades, Eveready brushes, ASR Ascot lighters.

TO HELP KWAKS

Asia Festival to see films

TWO unusual color films from India and Japan will be shown at the Asian Cultural Festival at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St., Sat. eve., Jan. 29. The festival is under the auspices of the Committee for the Defense of Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak, Korean musicians threatened with deportation to S. Korea.

The films depict the tradition of legend and the dance; there will be a narration by Mrs. Tomo Wheaton. Betty Sanders, folk singer, will interpret Asian folk songs, and Maud Russell, Asian authority, will speak, along with James Aronson, exec. editor of the GUARDIAN, Alec Jones, exec. secy. of the N.Y. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, and Mr. and Mrs. Kwak.

David Burliuk, noted artist, has contributed an original oil as door prize. Tickets: $1.25.

JUBILEE CONCERT
of the
Jewish Music Alliance
B'KLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
SAT., JAN. 29 — 8 P.M.
CHORAL FESTIVAL
- Jewish Young Folk Singers
- Choral Ballad—Benjamin III Music by Max Helfman;
- Colombuses Medine Music by Eugene Malek. Based on American-Jewish folklore.
- American Mandolin Orch. Conducted by Thos. Sokoloff.

Assisting artists: Lucille Blacktou, soprano; Bob DeCormier, baritone; Raymond Smolover, tenor, Lou Norman, narrator.
Tickets at box office

HEAR YE! HEAR YE!
Guardian Forum
FRI., JAN 28—8 P.M.
Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Av.
Admission $1 at door

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Where will the new Wehrmacht turn?
Is history to repeat itself in Europe?
How will the U. S. S. R. react?
Speakers: **MICHAEL GOLD**
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ASIAN FESTIVAL
SONGS of Asia by Betty Sanders
FILMS Indian Legend, Japanese Dances
WORDS Maud Russell, James Aronson, Alec Jones
and Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak
SAT., JAN. 29 — 8 P.M.
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405 W. 41st St.
$1.25
Tickets from Kwak Comm. 515 W. 111th St., Room 3F and 23 W. 26th St.

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• CELIA ADLER
• WILLIAM MARSHALL
• MARTHA SCHLAMME
SAT., FEB. 5 — 8:30 P.M.
Brooklyn Academy of Music
See Calendar p. 11 for details

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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"AMERICAN LABOR —ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS"
A Basic and Timely Analysis
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Discussion; Questions; Refreshm'ts
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THE CONTEMPORARY FORUM announces two major courses:
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THE WORLD'S GREAT NOVELS
Presented through lectures, dramatic readings, and discussion.
Six Tuesday evenings, 8:15-9:45
Jan. 25: Dickens: "Hard Times"
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• •
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Tuition: $1 per session
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GUARDIAN THEATER BENEFIT—THURS., JAN. 27, Elliott Sullivan's production of "THE TROUBLE MAKERS," by George Bellak. Orch. $6.50, 5.50, 4.50. Mez. $3., 2., 5. Call or write: 17 Murray St., NYC 7, WO 4-3960.

CLUB CINEMA, 450 Sixth Av. (nr. 9th St.) "THE GOLDEN TWENTIES," Jan. 21-23, a March of Time film on the dizzy decade from the end of World War I to the onset of the Great Depression, touching on all the events and developments that led to the New Deal. Showings: 8:30 and 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: "THE ROOSEVELT STORY."

JEFFERSON SCHOOL: OPEN HOUSE, Sun., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. Hear "The Investigator." Meet the faculty. Entertainment and refreshments. Bring your friends to this celebration of the opening of the School's 12th year. Admission free. 575 Av. of Americas.

Hear "THE INVESTIGATOR," brilliant anti-McCarthy satire recording, followed by comments on your legal rights by N.Y. attorney Sun., Jan 23, 8:15 p.m. ALP, 220 W. 98th St. Contribution: 50c.

A ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL
In person—KAREN MORLEY—
plus two documentary films
Thurs., Jan. 27, 8:30, 15 AD., ALP, 4046 B'way (170th St.) Rm. 12

DOXEY WILKERSON, educator and lecturer on "Segregation - Desegregation," Sun., Jan. 23, 8:30 p.m. Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., B'klyn.

GRAND CONCERT featuring PAUL DRAPER and Youth Chorus of Bronx and Peretz Mittel-Shulin. Sat., Feb. 5, 8:30 p.m. B'klyn Academy of Music. Tickets: $1.15, $1.80, $2.50. Obtainable at B'klyn Comm. for Jewish Education, 1545 St. Johns Pl., B'klyn.

53th A. D. AMERICAN LABOR PARTY SALUTES its own Celia Stein and Bertha Bender with a concert and dance, Professional entertainment. Sat., Jan. 29, 8:30 p.m. 3410 B'way (nr. 138th St.), Room 201.

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MANDOLIN CLASS for beginners starts Thurs., Jan. 27, 7 p.m. Instruction free to members, dues 50c weekly. Come and register ($2 registration fee), non-profit organization. Mandolin Symphony Orch., 106 E. 14th St. (nr. 4th Av.)

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WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE SCHOOLS—AND THE CHILDREN?
There are 2,000 kids from Shanks in the Orangeburg schools

50% OF FAMILIES ARE NEGRO

Court ruling dooms Shanks for 4,000

FOLLOWING a Dec. 30 decision by the Federal Court of Appeals, 500 veterans and their families—about 4,000 persons—face eviction from their low-rent homes in Shanks Village, N.Y. The "landlord"—the U.S. government—wants the 3,000-acre site back in order to take itself "out of the housing business." A rumor persists in Shanks Village that the site is to be used for a guided-missile base.

Shanks was created as an emergency housing project in 1946—using the barracks of Camp Shanks, World War II Army center near Orangeburg. With each barracks divided into apartments for three families, spruced up with porches and lawns, the village grew into one of the state's most integrated interracial communities (GUARDIAN, 4/20/53).

COMPARISON: The court ruling permitting the government to evict followed a suit against the government by tenants (the Shanks Village Residents Assn.). They sought an injunction halting evictions, maintained that no equivalent housing was available. A typical five-room home in Shanks rents for $45 per month, including gas and electricity. A tenant who sought a comparable place nearby reported he could find no two-bedroom apartment under $115.

Most of the Shanks residents want to remain in Rockland County near their jobs in Pearl River, Piedmont and Orangeburg, but, they say, even if there is a vacancy, families with children are not welcome. Home-hunting in the area is more difficult for Negro families who make up 50% of Shanks. Even with ready money, it is almost impossible for them to buy a home nearby. Available for them are what one Shanks tenant describes as "two-room shacks" at $75 a month, or dangerous firetrap slums in Nyack, from which several present Shanks tenants were burned out.

NO WAY OUT: The tenant group had hoped to buy 50 acres of the project for relocation of evicted families, but the government would sell the whole tract or nothing. Under the leadership of a local builder, 45 families talked of erecting a co-operative housing development of individual homes on a site 10 miles from Shanks near Nyack. Even if that plan goes through, at rock-bottom co-op building prices, the homes will cost about $12,000 apiece—no solution for most Shanks families whose weekly income is $75 or less.

No date has been set for the eviction but tenants predict it will not take place for several months. Closing of Shanks would also mean virtual depopulation of two schools attended by Shanks' 2,000 children, the Orangeburg school and the Orangeburg Grammar school, recently built in the project. The tenants talked of an appeal to the Supreme Court and of asking for aid in relocation, but many were frankly bewildered. Tenant assn. attorney Milton Carrow told a reporter: "These people don't want a free ride—just housing."

'Drama Tours' open Jan. 31

"DRAMA TOURS" through the world's great plays, with staged scenes from some of them, will begin Jan. 31 at the Master Institute, 310 Riverside Dr. (103d St.). Dr. Frederick Ewen, professor emeritus of English at Brooklyn College, will comment on the plays and playwrights. A troupe of actors under producers Phoebe Brand and Marjorie Nelson will enact chosen excerpts which will be followed by informal discussion among audience, speaker and actors.

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White damask with blue border.
60"x60" with 4 napkins $5.50 ppd.

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Peasant linen tablecloth in ecru with lovely silk-screened floral design.
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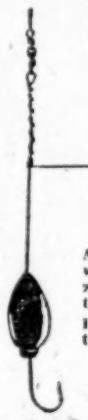

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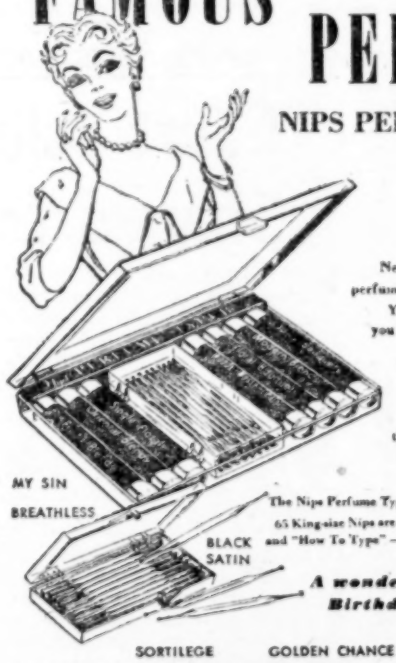

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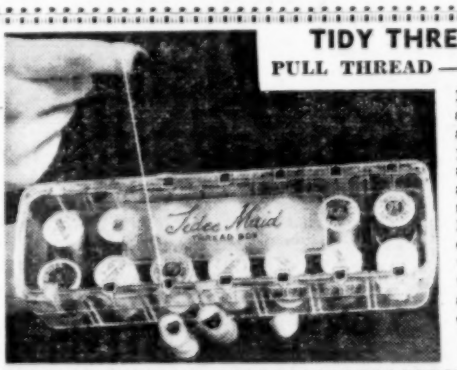

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the SPECTATOR

Living the good life

OF THE SCORES of assorted progresives who drop in at the GUARDIAN office when they are in New York, none brings us more relaxed good cheer, good sense and encouragement than a ruddy-complexioned, clear-eyed young couple named Helen and Scott Nearing (the latter now 71 years old on the books). The Nearings have been fighting the good fight in their own way through more than four decades. They first learned the price of opposing capitalism and war back in World War I. By the time of the Great Depression, with all doors barred to them in their work as teachers, they had to make some radical decisions about their future. What they decided, and how their philosophy of living has developed since then, is now told in two beautifully-produced books* which are immensely provocative.

SCOTT NEARING

The Nearings were and are what the propagandists entreat us to regard as an impossible contradiction: independent Americans of the old school and convinced socialists. It was their rugged independence that made it necessary for them to find out for themselves how the social machine ticks, rather than to accept it at its own valuation and become unquestioning cogs in it.

$300 LIBERATION: Many wondered in the Thirties how they could avoid being dragged down in the apparently impending crack-up of a slave system of "folly, inefficiency, corruption and violence." Many tried various escape routes leading to futility and demoralization. But the Nearings—as Scott's many books and flow of "World Events" analysis (now in **Monthly Review**) since then attest—could not stop protesting and participating in the search for better social alternatives. What they sought was not "escape" but rather liberation so they could still put something into life while getting more out of it.

For $300 down they bought a Vermont farm—a move which, while not "solving any of the outstanding social problems," would "steady and stabilize one household in a teetery world," providing "an economic base from which they could make their leisure time contribute toward the advancement of the general welfare." They believed—and proved—that with careful planning they could grow 80% of their food (bartering maple syrup for the rest); live simply but enjoyably and healthily (they never saw a doctor in 20 years); and still leave half their time clear for reading, writing, traveling and speaking.

DOING WITHOUT: This self-liberation they achieved on a farm with poor soil and only 85 frost-free days a year; socially, however—as far as spreading their ideas among their Vermont neighbors was concerned—they admit the experiment failed. Attempts to organize community co-operation and activities flopped. The Nearings concluded that too-intensive private-enterprise conditioning made effective co-operation impossible.

How far others attracted to such a solution for themselves will feel they could do what the Nearings did is a question. For the Nearings are not only a more than usually capable couple, but they have mastered the lower animal to an extent where —in addition to doing without telephone, electricity, radio and other installment-plan gadgets most of us would cheerfully sacrifice for independence—they prefer to dispense with tobacco, meat, coffee and tea, alcohol and even dairy produce. City folk who dropped by their farm to inspect their bucolic paradise were appalled when confronted with a hearty breakfast of "apples, sunflower seeds and a black molasses drink."

PLANNING AND PIONEERING: Yet it is impossible not to admire their achievement in self-mastery and planning, which they describe without the intolerance and arrogance typical of some "faddists." And it is just as impossible for anyone who knows the Nearings to deny that, for all their "austerity," they enjoy life and maintain an unsurpassed standard of physical and mental health. Let the tobacco-smoking, meat-eating, whisky-drinking progressive who has done half as much with his life as the Nearings cast the first hamburger at the sunflower-seed breakfasts.

All of us can profit by studying, and relating to ourselves, what the Nearings have achieved and what they have to say now about "the two interdependent levels on which the program for the good life must be worked out, the individual and the collective." By their successful planning of the Vermont microcosm they have trained themselves for—and shown others something of what is involved in—the planning that society needs. Theirs is a valuable experiment in "20th century pioneering" which, Scott Nearing writes,

> ". . . beckons us toward the 21st century. Whether we will it or not, those who propose to live satisfying, productive lives from now to 1999 A.D. must expect to do their share of pioneering."

* *MAN'S SEARCH FOR THE GOOD LIFE, by Scott Nearing; LIVING THE GOOD LIFE, by Helen & Scott Nearing. Social Science Institute, Harborside, Me., 146 & 209 pp.; $2.50 and $3.50 separately, both books boxed $5.*